1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Roussel (190, p. 426) states that a census taken between 1867 and 1870 showed a total population of 650. He believes that the population was never more than 5,000 or 6,000 because the interior of the island was never inhabited.

In 1869 Powell (180, p. 142) estimated the population at 800, and Palmer (169, p. 372) at 900 of whom one third were women.

In 1870 Gana (86) reported the population at about 600.

The disproportion of the sexes in the last half of the nineteenth century is not exaggerated. Roussel, who knew the island well, states that formerly the number of women exceeded the number of men but that women seemed more susceptible to smallpox and tuberculosis and that "out of three dead two are females." That this disproportion was abnormal is proved by native testimony and the present balance between male and female birth rates. Geiseler (87, p. 22) attributes the disproportion and the falling birth rate to the past, for he had heard that long before white contact there was but one woman to every five men. Disease may have been introduced by infrequent visits of whalers who before 1830 had contaminated the island with syphilis (162, p. 26).

The smallpox epidemic apparently ceased after the arrival of the missionaries, but mortality was still high and the population continued to diminish. Roussel (190, p. 427) gives a reason for this that is worth considering:

> I know of no other reason for the decrease of the population other than deprivations of all sorts, the humidity of the huts, the bad air of the winter season, their immorality and their extreme imprudence in living with sick people. To frighten them with the threat of death is just useless. They do not care for life. They fear death as little as they like their relatives. As long as they hope to save a sick person they take care of him, but if the disease becomes serious, they abandon him and pay no attention to his requests or wants.
>
> As a matter of fact the only disease on Rapa-nui is scrofula, but it seems to be very different from the ordinary kind. They suffer from dysentery, but so rarely that it is not dangerous. We had only two cases of tetanus and they were fatal, one case of apoplexy and one of cerebral congestion.

Bates (86, p. 51), the surgeon of the *O'Higgins* who visited the island in 1870, attributes the great mortality of the population to scrofula and consumption. He considers that premature marriages affected the birth rate. It is hard to tell exactly what he means by "scrofula" which he says was common among children, whereas adults died of "pulmonary ailments."

The lack of hygiene and the free sexual life of the girls cannot be considered as serious factors in the depopulation. Smallpox probably made the greatest ravages among young people, so that there is nothing surprising in the continued decrease in birth rate even after the epidemics were over. In addition to the other calamities war broke out among the islanders and was followed by a period of famine. In 1866, Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) wrote that the mortality caused by misery and famine was very high and that the missionaries had to take care of a great many orphans.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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tion that members of a family are always ready to give each other. Relatives are inclined to exchange presents chiefly among themselves, but there is a constant giving and receiving among all of the people of the village of Hanga-roa.

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

Children are always welcomed into a family and the rapid increase of the Easter Island population in the last fifty years indicates the fertility of most of the married couples. There are now 216 children under 13 years of age. I never heard of a woman who was annoyed at the prospect of having a child or of a woman who had an abortion. The desire for children is illustrated by the following popular Easter Island tale, which was given to me as an actual recent incident:

A woman named Rere-ao slept with her husband but saw that she would never have a child. One day she noticed a woman who was pregnant. She pretended to be pregnant too. She also pretended to suffer when the pregnant woman felt the first pains of labor. The other woman gave birth to a child. Rere-ao said to the midwives, "You stay here. I must go out to defecate." She went to the house of the woman to whom the child had been born. She said, "Give me this child. I want to suckle it." The woman passed the child to her and she stole it. She put it in front between her tapa skirt and her waist. Then she returned to her house and said to the women sitting there, "Hurry and take my child." They came to deliver the child and it was born from the front part of her bosom. The real parents looked for their child who had been stolen by Rere-ao. They came to the house of Rere-ao and said, "The child is ours. Why did you steal him?" Then they said to the people, "She only pretended to have a child and for that reason she has taken our child. She is Rere-ao, stealer of the child." The parents took their child back, and thereafter the people made fun of Rere-ao and called her Rere-ao-toki-poki (Rere-ao-the-stealer-of-the-child).

The present islanders do not care whether they have sons or daughters. Formerly sons were preferred, as in many parts of Polynesia. "The son has to carry on the line, succeed to the title and inherit the estate" (31, p. 37). Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) writes:

. . . If the newborn child was a boy, there was great rejoicing, but if it was a daughter there was less enthusiasm. All of the affection of the family was bestowed upon the first born son, whereas the last one was despised; he bore a nickname that nobody pronounced without laughing.

Pregnancy

At the third or fifth month of pregnancy, but never in the fourth or later than the fifth month, the husband's father offered an earth oven to the parents of the expectant mother. This oven was called *umu takapu moa kokoma* (*takapu*, ceremonial earth oven; *moa kokoma*, intestines of the fowls) and was "proportioned to the number of sweet potatoes or fowls they had at their disposal" (230, vol. 6, p. 130). The food cooked in it was presented with the words, "Umu takapu moa ka kai" (Eat the earth oven of fowl's intestines), and eaten on the spot. The name of this feast was *rae* (the first fruits, the

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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Provincial Director of Public Instruction, Valparaiso. It is entirely due to these circumstances that there is a large number of illiterates among the Easter Islanders, in spite of their remarkable intelligence and their extremely keen desire for education.

Easter Islanders, in the manner of most of the Polynesians, are of an open, observing nature, having extraordinary faculties for assimilation. They are constantly on the watch for every new bit of knoweldge and adopt with a veritable passion every innovation, material or intellectual. Individuals of exceptional talent should have special advantages. Their present condition does not favor them at all in this respect.

Because Easter Island belongs to Chile, the official language is Spanish, naturally. Up to the present the Chilean influence consists only of the presence of a Commissioner whose functions include those of Civil Registration Officer and Schoolmaster. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the natives, if they understand Spanish, do not speak it except very badly. Only a small group of individuals are capable of more or less correct expression in this language. The women are even more conservative in their language and traditions; there are few who can carry on a conversation in Spanish.

We shall consider as illiterate all natives who do not read or write any language, for quite a number among them read and write the Easter Island language or Tahitian. Without counting the children under 10, of whom there are 183, there are actually 147 illiterates, that is to say 53.85 percent. One hundred and twenty-six, or 46.15 percent, read and write.

VITAL STATISTICS

It would be necessary, in order to complete this brief contribution to the demography of Easter Island, to give statistics for births, mortality, marriage, sanitary conditions, etc. Unfortunately, various circumstances have made this task impossible. The bureau of civil registry, installed at Hanga Roa in 1915, has been neglected. Also no official census of the population has been made until now. In addition, the island is without doctors who could have studied the sanitary conditions and the causes of death. To complete the difficulty, one series of the records of the civil registry has disappeared.

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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To satisfy my conscience I shall however publish a few facts that I have been able to gather together. [114] 163 165

During 17 years, that is to say from 1915 to 1931 inclusive, the percentage of births each year was as follows:

Legitimate	
Male	7
Female	6
Illegitimate	
Male	3
Female	2
Total	**18 per year (10 male and 8 female)**

The percentage of marriages during 13 years has been three each year (from 1919 to 1931 inclusive). The mortality, during this same period of time, averages 10 each year, 4 children and 6 adults. As to the causes of death and sicknesses in general I can say nothing, for the reasons above stated.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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latter endeavor to "bull" the market, while those of the boy do their utmost to "bear" the commodity under appraisement, the price is finally agreed upon and the bargain is concluded, the consideration being a specified quantity of sugar cane, taro, sweet potatoes, chickens, etc., to be paid the girl's parents. A day is then fixed upon; relatives and friends are notified; due preparations are made at the girl's house, to which the articles mentioned have meanwhile been sent, and at the time appointed, all interested being present, a grand feast is held, at which, as a rule, everything edible, that is to say the price of the girl, is consumed. That important business being finished, bride and groom retire to the residence of the parents of the latter, by whom the bride is adopted as their own child, and thenceforth the parties are husband and wife.

The cares and the obligations of matrimony, as well as of parentage, sit lightly upon the Rapa Nuis. Although marital infidelity may be rare, it is stated that a husband will, in consideration of a certain quantity of produce, make over all right in his wife to another for a specified period, at the expiration of which time he will take back the wife and she again becomes the partner of his joys and sorrows. This might be called polygamy in another form.

Fixing the average at three gives, I think, a very fair estimate of the number of children to a family, and the lack of fecundity among them will readily be explained by the early child marriages, customs, habits of life, intermarriage, and the degeneracy of the race.

In these people the lower part of the body and extremities were found well developed, and in the women more so than would be supposed from their slight physique. In the latter the skin was lighter in color in the unexposed than in the exposed parts. The hips are broad and full, the thighs large, round, and firm, and legs straight and tapering to the ankles, which, with the feet, were small and delicate. They are but sparingly hirsute. The breasts of those examined were moderately large, full, round, firm, and carried well up on the chest. The nipples were quite small, but with good-sized areola, which latter presented, in some instances, that peculiar puffy, translucent appearance, as though filled with serum, often seen throughout the other Pacific Islands. The Rapa Nuis differed from these in that the areola was not so large nor of so deep a tint, the writer having seen them in other islands covering half the breast and nearly black in color.

The skin of the woman examined, where not covered with tattooing, was nearly as light in color as that of the average brunette, and very fine, smooth, soft, and delicate.

There seems to be no doubt that, with all their apparent mildness and good nature, the baser passions and savage instincts of these people are strong within them, and instances of inhumanity occasionally crop out among them. A case which came under the notice of Dr. Whitaker was that of a woman who was suffering from spinal deformity, the result

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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to several in turn, finally returning to its own destination. We collected a certain number of genealogical trees, the various dramatis personæ being for this purpose represented by matches or buttons. It was not a very popular line of research, the cry being apt to be raised, "Now let's talk of something interesting"; but some two hundred names were in this way placed in their family groups, with details of clan, place of residence and colour, and some knowledge obtained with regard to many more. It is not of course enough ground on which to found any theory, but it was very useful in checking information gathered in other ways. Only in one case was it possible to get back beyond the great-grandfather of our informant, but the knowledge of family connections was often greater than would be found among Europeans. The number of childless marriages was striking.

The early story of Viriamo (fig. 83), the oldest woman living in our day, gives a picture of this primitive state of things. She belonged to the clan of Ureohei, and her family had lived for some generations, as far back as could be remembered, on the edge of the eastern volcano, not far from Raraku. The great-grandfather, who was dark, had as his only wife a white woman of the Hamea. Their son was white, and had two wives, one of the Tupahotu and one of the Ngaure. By the first, although she also was white, he had a dark son who married a white wife of his own clan, Ureohei, but of a different group. Viriamo was the second of their eight children, all of whom were white save herself and her eldest brother. Four of the girls died young in the epidemic of smallpox in 1864. Viriamo and two of her sisters were initiated as children into the bird rite.[1] When older she was tattooed with rings round her forehead and with the dark-blue breeches. Somewhat later, but still as a young woman, she went over to Anakena and had her ears pierced, but she never had the lobe extended, preferring to let it remain small. When asked about her marriage, she bridled as coyly as a young girl. Her first union was a matter of arrangement, the husband, who was also of the Ureohei, giving her father much food, and, if she had refused to accept the situation, she would, she said, have been beaten. There was no ceremony of any kind, no new clothes nor feasting; her father simply took her to her new home and handed her over. The house was near the two statues with

[1] See below, pp. 266–68.